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MONITORY HINTS

TO THE
MINISTER,

ON THE
PRESENT STATE OF THE NATION—THE
DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE—
THE NECESSARY ALTERATION OF THE
CONSTITUTION, &c.

IN A LETTER TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE
EARL OF SHELBURNE:

WITH
Occasional Observations elucidating many Passages
in a Pamphlet lately published,

ENTITLED
A D E F E N C E
OF THE
EARL OF SHELBURNE, &c.

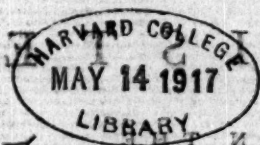
Answer New.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR J. BEW, PATER-NOSTER-ROW; AND
J. DEBRETT, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXXIII.

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A DEFENCE

OF THE

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J. DEBRET, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXXIII.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

The EARL of SHELBURNE.

MY LORD,

I Beg your Lordship not to be afraid.--- You have no reason. I assure you, my Lord, you may peruse the following pages without the smallest Risque of meeting with either a *Dagger of Defence*, or a Fool's Cap and Bells, as an Emblem of *Vindication*. I am a plain Man and have not yet learnt the Art of stabbing where I pretend to heal; or of incontestably proving a Man a Fool, whilst I am sedulously asserting his Wisdom.

I hope my Lord, this short preface will entirely remove any Prejudices, which might operate so far to my Disadvantage, as to prevent you from reading what I have taken the Liberty to address to you. I cannot boast an Acquaintance of * Twenty-Eight Years standing, nor indeed any Acquaintance at all with your Lordship: and should undoubtedly think myself under the Necessity of apologizing to you, for this Trespass on your Time and Patience, was I not assured that the

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natural

* See Vindication of Lord S---e, p. 10.

[2]

natural importance of the Subject I am to treat on, will be deemed a sufficient excuse.

I am a plain matter of fact Man, my Lord, and seldom trouble myself with other people's affairs: but as a Man I am subject to those Infirmities of nature which usually attend Mortality. I am at present troubled with the *Cacoethes scribendi*, and as I have neither Father nor Mother, Uncle nor Aunt, nor any Relatives that I know of; I cannot resist the impulse which impels me to inform your Lordship, that having no *Children* either, I have lately adopted an Orphan brat, that has a long time been kicked and bandied up and down this bustling Island, without the least Pity or Compassion. I mean, my Lord,

MY COUNTRY'S GOOD.

I am informed that your Lordship, I has lately been appointed chief Guardian to my poor adopted brat; and I therefore think it requisite to give you the earliest Notice, that I shall keep a watchful Eye over the Interests and Welfare, of what I have taken so nearly to my heart.

Ear

Far be it from me, my Lord, to hint the least Suspicion that your Lordship has any design to abuse the Trust reposed in you, Tho' you are a Peer of the Realm, I am by no means fearful that you should therefore be a Scoundrel; * nor that you would of course betray the Interests of your Ward, because you are entitled to a Seat in the Aristocratical branch of the Legislature. But, my Lord, there are some *traits* in a Man's Character which will make the most unsuspecting look around them, and which tho' HONESTY was written in Capitals in his forehead, would necessarily induce one to suppose, that it was only a Cover to the Knavery which lay concealed underneath.

Confident as I am in your Lordship's Integrity, and no way doubting your Abilities, it is very reasonable in any one to suppose, that I should not only rejoice, at the event of your Lordship's being appointed to the eminent Station which you now fill; but that I should rest perfectly satisfied and contented with the present fate of my bantling.

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I do

* See Defence of Lord S——E, page 17. § 2.

I do not deny that I am so. It is a Maxim with me, never to suppose a Man will betray the greatest Trust which can possibly be reposed in him, until I have seen some very striking deviation from rectitude in the line of Conduct, which my reason informs me he ought to pursue.

Acting upon those Principles, my Lord, and deeply interested in the Success and Welfare of the Urchin, we are mutually bound to take care of, from our different situations; your Lordship, as the legal Guardian, and *Pauvre moi* as the voluntary adopter; I flatter myself, you will not think me either rude, or impertinent, in the humble offering of a little sober Advice.

What! how! where am I?---Will my Readers naturally exclaim, Is the Man mad? ---Advice to the first Lord of the Treasury! Impious Idea! I hope not, my Lord. There is an old Adage which says "that a Stander
" by sees more of the Game than he who
" plays it"---I dare say your Lordship has more than once been convinced of the truth of my quotation, and as your Lordship is
now

now engaged in a Game, on which more is staked than is every day to be seen played for; I have no doubt, but a friendly hint or two, will be accepted in the same way they are really meant, for the general good of your Lordship, my Country, and myself.

Your Lordship, is now in that stage of the Game, in which a great deal is to be won by *Cards*, and little less by *Honors*. It seems to me also that you have a good hand; therefore take care, my Lord, one false or weak stroke, or any unwarrantable finesse, may lose you a Game which neither your Lordship nor any of your Successors may ever afterwards be able to recover.

Envy, my Lord, is a certain, a never failing attendant, on those who are placed in exalted and pre-eminent stations. As there is not so base a passion, incident to the human System; it will of course follow, that your Lordship will very soon experience its baneful effects. You will soon see, that Knaves and Fools, will alternately be shooting their bolts at you; and however great an adept, your Lordship may be in the Science of De-

fence, I believe you will find, that a cautious Conduct is the best; and that it is more adviseable to avoid the thrusts either of a skillful Fencer, or a dark Assassin, than wilfully to oppose yourself to their attacks, and trust entirely to your own Ability and Management, for your safety and protection.

As a Friend then, my Lord, not to you *individually*, or to the first Lord of the Treasury; but merely as chief Guardian to the Child of my choice; I beg leave particularly to recommend it to your Lordship to desist in future from appearing so smug upon the Mart.† Your Lordship's station is such that you have no occasion *now* to pay the smallest regard to decency in the Article of your *Apparel* in particular,

Instead therefore of putting on "*fine Cloaths*" to set the poorer Class of Peers a longing for them, or to give offence to those who have neither Pride or Spirit enough to wear the like.---I would advise your Lordship to go always to the House in a coarse Wiltshire Cloth, totally divested of the smallest pretensions

† See the Defence of Lord S——, p. 10.

tensions to Fashion. ^{no} Your Wig without powder, your stockings like Ranger's on his return to the Temple, and in short, as like a *Blackguard*, or *Blacklegs*, as you possibly can. You will then impress your brother Peers and Countrymen with a certain Idea, that you dont mean to captivate their wise Noddles, by your outside shew, and tinsel trappings. Whatever flows from your Lordship's tongue, will be received as sterling matter: And the Crowd without doors will give you Credit for being a *good* Man, because you dont affect to be *finer* than themselves. ^{being a}

On particular occasions it might not be amiss if your Lordship was to appear without your Breeches, to evince to the World that you are above national prejudices.

But if ever it should happen, that to win a Wager towards the Approach of Morning, you should be under the Necessity of getting a Chairman to *ease* himself of a burthen; I dont mean to lay it on your Lordship's Shoulders, nor in your Coat-pocket, nor any where but in your Breeches---be sure not to change them on any Account, nor make the slight-

est Apology to any one near you whose ol-
factory Nerves may be affected. The very
idea of a Peer's wanting *Purification*, is a cry-
ing Sin, and never to be forgotten or for-
given.

I most earnestly recommend it to your Lord-
ship, to desist from the reading of History,
either of your own Country or any other---
the knowledge which you may derive from
such lucubrations is trifling and nugatory.---
Study *Hoyle*, my Lord, if you expect to make
a good or a *successful* Minister.----There is
amazing Affinity between the Game of Whist,
and the Game of Politics: and the Book I
recommend to you, will perfect your Lord-
ship in all the *Chances* and set you quite right
as to the *odds*.

Instead, of the ridiculous mode you have
hitherto pursued, of entertaining the Literati
and Men of *Genius* of every degree, from the
Philosopher to the Pamphleteer;---in future
let your Doors be open to none but Grooms,
Jockies, Black-legs, and the votaries of the
Turf. Instead of retiring to your Study
when they are gone---drive to Brookes's,
and

and stay there, till the Duties of your Station require your Attendance at St. Stephen's; and then, whatever you may urge by way of Argument, *must* be allowed to be for your Country's good, because you have been spending your time among her *choicest* Spirits, and *best* Friends.

As a Minister, my Lord, be particularly careful not to take too much care of the foreign possessions of the Nation. If you do, you gain the ill-will, and draw on you the Malevolence of the factious and disloyal. To avoid this, therefore, I would request your Lordship, to take "an Anodyne* from "any Nephenthe" that will answer the purpose, of causing you totally to forget, whatever you may by *accident* have read, of the Administrations of Louvois, Colbert or Mazarin. Those were the greatest Ministers which France ever knew. They raised their Sovereigns to the highest pitch of Splendor, in the Eyes of all Europe. But, my Lord, they were "*Men of Intrigue*" and of course unworthy of imitation by an Englishman.

Besides,

* See Defence of Lord S——2, p. 26.

Besides, my Lord, *you*, would be culpable in a tenfold degree, were you to shew any Inclination to "*intrigue*" having so convenient and charming a "*Strumpet*"* as the present "*Parliament*" courting your Careless, if you were to attempt, by intriguing with a miserable Set of French Ministers, and American Rebels, to gain a good and an honourable Peace for your *poor* defenceless, and exhausted Country, that scarce had a Ship to face the common Enemy with, till that amazing Man, that wonderful Wonder of Wonders (greater even than Mr. Katterfelto himself) that astonishing Necromancer, Lord Keppel,§ in the warmth of his Pity, and Love for this Country, caused Mushrooms to grow in our Dock-Yards, and swim in the Sea so like Ships; that under the Command of the bravest Admiral and most gallant Man, who never fired a single Gun in Enmity during the present War, had so surprizing an effect on the combined Fleets of French and Spaniards, as to enable the noble Viscount to relieve Gibraltar, and afterwards, detach
seven

* See Defence of Lord S——E, p. 52.

§ See Mr. Fox's Speech on the vote of thanks to General ELLIOTT, Lord Howe, &c. for the relief of Gibraltar.

seven sail of the Line to the West-Indies, in support of a Commander in Chief, who if *Chance*, should throw a French or Spanish Admiral into his power, will be sure to have his praises sufficiently trumpeted to the World: for he was appointed by Mr. Fox. Charley can speak, Ye Gods how he can speak! and he *had* a Secretary who all England knows can write, **HAPPY! HAPPY! HAPPY! PIGOT.**

In order to convince your Country in general, and me in particular, that your Lordship has really our Welfare at Heart; and that you are a *great* and *good* Minister, give us some proofs, my Lord. Your Defender says that you are the greatest and best promiser in the Kingdom, and the worst performer of promises. Mr. Fox has avowed the same in the House of Commons and who shall dare to dispute *such* Authorities? Therefore, my Lord, to convince us that you are in earnest, and that we may depend on your Lordship, instantly recall Sir Edward Hughes from the Command of the Fleet in the East-Indies. He has lately received the Thanks of the Legislature for having dared in the
face

face and in defiance of *faction* gloriously to serve his Country; and is therefore a proper object of recall. Might I advise your Lordship in the choice of his Successor, I know no Man so fitted for it as the Right Hon. Lord *****, who has also received the Thanks of both Houses for having done nothing at all, save and except, running away from the French Fleet, when it was a Noun-Substantive and failed by itself, and catching the Horrors of a Lee-shore at the distance of thirty Leagues.

But, my Lord, there are many more matters of Reform, and Alteration, of the same kind to be made, before I can possibly dismiss this particular part of my Subject.

The English are confessedly in the Eyes of all Europe, the most enlightened, and politic Nation, that has ever yet existed. Taking Advantage of their Knowledge of the History of the ancients; and particularly of that once powerful, and glorious but *foolish* Empire of Rome; one principal cause of the downfall of which, was the too great Extent of her distant Colonies and foreign Possessions;

sions; we, have *wisely* determined not to ruin ourselves by means of so ridiculous an Error; and have therefore, very prudently resolved, to give our late rebellious Colonies, their Independence. We have thrown away a Hundred Millions of Pounds Sterling (which we did not know what to do with) and lost above a Hundred Thousand brave Men, in fighting for a Cockle-Shell, and just as we had an evident proof that we might take our bauble if we chose; when the Records of their own Treasurers proved the Congress Bankrupt; and that one hundred thousand Dollars, out of *Eight Millions*, were all which could be raised for the Supplies of the last Year; we generously court them to peace, magnanimously allow them to christen their Darling Independence, and even stand Sponsors to the Bastard.

Let us look at our different Enemies, who combined like a Swarm of Locusts to devour us, and I have no doubt but I can prove, our Generosity, and Wisdom in *begging* a Peace at this Juncture, are equally heroical and politic.

In

In the course of last Year, that inveterate Enemy to the Glory of Great-Britain, BARON RODNEY, beat the French in so *unhandsome* a Manner, as was scandalous to think of. His Fleet was in so dreadful a state just at that period, that the *immaculate* and *brilliant* Minister of the then day, declared he was afraid to mention its rotten State. What a blow to the pride of France? to have their Fleet totally defeated, the City of Paris and the tallest Admiral in Europe, taken, by a *little English Baronet*, commanding nothing but a Parcel of old disabled Hulks, so indicative of the Consumption under which this Country laboured, and so far in its last Stage, that our State Physician told us he trembled to relate it! These are Acts, these are Facts, which should never be forgotten or forgiven by a wise Minister. Mr. Fox well knew this, and therefore advised his recall: And the Author of your Lordship's Defence has great reason to lament that since Lord Rodney's return, you did not confine him to the Tower; that he might have had a *case in point* to prove the Similarity in the political Disposition of your Lordship, to that *intriguing* Minister, "Mazarine, who after repeated glorious

rious Victories, gained by the great Conde, confined him in the Castle of Vincennes."†

That brave NORTH-BRITON, General Elliott, has given the combined forces of the House of Bourbon, a very *brilliant* proof that Gibraltar is not to be taken either by Squibs or Crackers; or even by means of the Brussels Gazette, nor the dextrous *manœuvres* of the Duc de Crillon. After promising, and thereby setting all Europe agog, to hear of their capturing the British Salamander, and his handful of brave Associates; they have only proved that after meeting a warm Reception, they burnt their Fingers, and made their Retreat in a *Blaze* of Confusion, Horror and Disgrace.

O Elliott! Elliott! what rewards dost thou deserve, in a reign like that, of the || *illustrious, pious, patriotic, hypocritical* GEO. 3d, Sovereign of the Island of Bulls and Bears, where Generals are rewarded with the highest Honors and Emoluments for fighting

away

† See Defence of Lord S———, p. 8.

|| The different Epithets bestowed on our gracious Sovereign by Mr. BURKE and others, when in Opposition and when in Administration.

away Provinces, encouraging Gambling; and rioting in the Arms of Sloth and Wantonness: and Admirals receive the Rank of Nobility, for *handsomely* running away from an inferior Force?

The Spaniards are almost Bankrupts; and the furlly and ungrateful Dutch, nearly on the Verge of an Insurrection, in consequence of being stript of almost every Possession which belonged to them, out of the Seven United States.

What a ridiculous, infatuated set of Mortals must they be, to repine on so trivial an Occasion! The People of England only took their Ships, their Islands, Settlements and Factories, merely to play with for a while; and will be sure to restore them again, with an Equivalent for the Damages sustained by them, in consequence of the different Pranks played by those Quixotic, and generous Islanders.

America is to be allowed her Independence; France, Spain, and Holland, are to be reinstated in *all* their former Possessions--
the

the fickle English are tired with keeping them. Our own West and East-India possessions we will *condescend* to keep a little longer in subjection to us. We have done sufficient at one period, to immortalize us to the *present* and all future Generations. We have freed Ireland from a Bondage we had no Right to put upon them. We have given away thirteen Colonies in America. We have sacrificed the Loyalists, and left them to the *Mercy* of their *merciless* Countrymen. After these strong irrefragable proofs, who can doubt of our *Magnanimity* and *Disinterestedness*!

The Generosity of the English has long been proverbial. We have been allowed at the End of every War to be *Lords paramount* in this Article, over all our Enemies. The French have long dared to dispute with us a superiority in Politics, but the time is at length arrived---*happy* time for us, when they must be convinced that we excel them even in *Politics*. ROME was ruined by the *extent* and *distance* of her Colonies. So might England. No, no, hold *Monseigneur*, there we have bit you. We have given our Colonies

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away.

away. We have given *Ireland* away. If in the course of a few Years you should dare to go to war with us again, you must engage in Addition to your good Allies the *Americans*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Dutch*, at least the Emperor of Germany, and Frederick of Prussia, (if living) and after we have spent a hundred Millions more, and lost another hundred thousand of brave subjects, if we find ourselves still too much hampered with *foreign* possessions, we will give away our East-India Territory, and shall then be a Match for you ALL, tho' you should be joined by the Emperors of Russia, and the Great Mogul.

ROME fell by her extensive and distant Colonies. Record it Genius of this *happy* and *united* Island.----ENGLAND never will ruin itself by so ridiculous a System. We see the Rocks and Shoals on which the State Vessels of the Roman Empire split. We see it time enough to save our own.---Take, ye foolish and impolitic Frenchmen, take, our Colonies which were nothing but a burthen to us. We freely give them away, to save
our

ourselves from the fate of the *Romans*, and may now exultingly cry out

“*Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.*”

Having thus magnanimously and *politically* disburthened ourselves of so much of our distant and foreign Possessions; so humanely, and honourably, broken every Tie of Faith, which good and *honest* Men are bound to perform and hold inviolate: where the sacred Promise of a great MONARCH and a great NATION, were mutually pledg'd, having meanly deserted and sacrificed the ALL which belonged to a poor, unfortunate, deluded set of Men, whose greatest Crime, was their absurd and ridiculous Attachment to their true and lawful Sovereign, and his Government: Permit me now my Lord to request your Attention to our Concerns at home.

If your Lordship supposes that the memorable and prudent steps before alluded to, are all that is requisite to be done, before the Interests of my poor Brat are firmly secured, you are most amazingly mistaken.

We have Mountains to remove, yet, my Lord. And perhaps when we have performed the *Herculean* Labor, which now lies before us, we may be still as far off as ever; and as a GEORGIUM SIDUS, has lately appeared in the Solar System, who knows but a new Mountain of Reform, may now lie hid, even, to the discerning Eyes of the most enlightened *Priest*, that in the present hour, adorns this *enlightened* Island. It is high Time therefore that we should begin, my Lord.

And first I do aver, and will maintain, that our excellent Constitution, which for so many Centuries has been universally acknowledged the *freest* and most *enviable* in the World, ought as soon as possible to be altered. It is at least liable to this grand and obvious Objection, that it is an *old fashioned* one, and of course a *disgrace* to so jemy and spruce a People.

If Mr. Fox himself, or even "Mr. Burke with his bundle of Virtues on his back," were to go to St. Stephen's to fulfil their duties as Senators, in the unfashionable Garb
which

which King John wore, when he confirmed Magna Charta; I am apt to believe they would be refused admission; and should not be at all surprized, if your Lordship, or any other at present *well dressed* Peer, were allowed to pronounce their Doom, that you should send the one to shew his "Bundle" once more to his Friends at Bristol, and the other to assist Mr. Wyvill and the Yorkshire Committee, in the salutary Work they are engaged in.

Example, my Lord, goes a great way, and it would certainly be an Argument every way *convincing*, that a Constitution is wanting in alteration, the main pillar of which was compleated in so uncouth an outward Garb. An Age in which if even Mr. Fox had lived he must have worn *Whiskers*. Perhaps he who "despises dress so entirely" might not have suffered much; but what would have become of your Lordship had it been your fate, whose *fondness* for that Article is so great, as to amount in some opinions to a crying sin.

The objects of reform, which require our most immediate and serious Attention, will next come under consideration. I think, my Lord, the DUCHY COURT of LANCASTER, and all its Appendages, should be immediately disfranchised: the Lands appertaining to the *Crown*, sold, and appropriated to the use of the people. As our present Gracious Sovereign has so large a Family, and as the Duchy, and the Honours and Privileges annexed to it were a Plume in the Cap of one of the younger Royal Males, it would be ungenerous to keep so trifling a Feather, after stripping them of their Right and Title to Thirteen Provinces, the meanest of which would be reckoned an *Acquisition* by the most powerful Monarch in Europe.

If any evil-minded Person should endeavour to persuade your Lordship, that you will make yourself unpopular, in the Opinions of the *People of Lancaster*, by robbing them of Privileges, which have grown up with their Fore-fore-fathers, such, as being relieved from the fatigues of travelling an immense distance to obtain Justice, &c. and a long train of Inconveniences, which are
not

not worth your Lordship's, or any one's notice, turn a deaf Ear to such Reports,--- they never did exist but in the *sublime* Idea of Mr. Burke, when in all the *beautiful* Meanders of rhetorical flourish he expatiated on the Virtues of the "*best of Kings*," in depicting his fondness for the "*best of People*."*

The Duration of *Parliament* is the next object, which requires our Attention; and ought not to be postponed, tho' War with all its Horrors should continue to accumulate around us. The Alteration from *Septennial* to *Triennial*, is absolutely and immediately necessary, to check the corruption of the people at large. Nothing can be more evident, than this position, that the time for which a virtuous Member of Parliament can now hold his Seat, being limited to something less than a half, every Candidate at an Election, has a right to expect that the *immaculate* and *incorruptible* Mass of Constituents, who return him, should take half price ---because they will have an Opportunity of mak-

* See Mr. Burke's Speech when he brought his Majesty's Message to the House, immediately preceding the boasted Bill of Reform, &c. past last Session.

making an Advantage in their bargain, twice, in *less* time, than they now have once,

This, my Lord, will in time, be an incentive to *Virtue*, which cannot fail to remedy the dreadful Inconveniencies we now labour under, from the Sink of Corruption we have so long been wading thro'. But, my Lord, if you can be the means of obtaining for your happy and enlightened Countrymen, the Advantage of *annual Parliaments*, I think the Honours, decreed to all former Saviours of their Country, will fall far short of what you will deserve.

You will then, my Lord, enable the whole Nation to get drunk, once a Year, on terms of the utmost Equality; the Senator and the Shoeblack, being for a Week, or ten days or more, on a perfect level. The Constitutions of the People, will of course be strengthened, and their *Courage* encreased by this inundation of general conviviality. Our Trade, being in many degrees, diverted into the Channels of the other different Powers of Europe, we shall have *less concern* than we ever had on *that account*; and as our Taxes

are

are trifling, and Money so plentiful that we don't know what to do with it; the *continual* Expences of Elections, will tend to prevent the too great growth of *Luxury*, the most rank and destructive Weed which can spring up among a *free* People.

Above all, my Lord, let us have a more *equal Representation*. It is the most absurd proposition in nature, to contend that Boroughs, which obtained particular Privileges by Charter--that a Corporation, consisting of any given Number, from one to one hundred, should return one or two members---because their right to do so is co-eval with, and equally entitled to respect with Magna-Charta itself. The more Voters the merrier is *my* Maxim, and I am sure that there cannot be so much Corruption necessary to the bribing of *ten thousand*, as there is in only *Ten*.

I am but a poor plain Man, my Lord, as I said before; but I should be glad to know, if by the same Rule, that the different County petitioners have a right to the interference of the present Legislature, to abrogate and in-
fringe

fringe CHARTERS, under which particular Privileges, have been handed down from Father to Son, for many Generations; they may not also with equal right, interfere, towards distributing the immense profits of many individuals, who by CHARTER *only*, granted to their Forefathers, monopolize an amazing Number of Benefits from one single Article, which if *equally* distributed, as well as the Liberty of voting, would render hundreds of families infinitely happier, than would a right to vote in every Borough, or County in the Kingdom.

I know your Lordship loves a Case in point, and I will endeavour to give you one. The DUKE of RICHMOND, by a Grant or Charter, made to his Ancestor, a Bastard of the greatest Tyrant that ever disgraced the Crown of a free people, now enjoys a Revenue of upwards of Ten Thousand Pounds a Year, from a Duty on Coals, one of the most necessary Articles of Life, to the *poorer* Sort of People in particular. Suppose, my Lord, a great Majority of the People in the Cities of London and Westminster were to petition to have this Grant annihilated by Parliament,

ment, or so far altered, that they should be allowed to participate in the benefits arising from this Duty? What answer could the Legislature give, after having infringed the CHARTERS of Electors to Boroughs?

The County Petitioners, at present, say, that no one, two, or ten or twenty, People in a BOROUGH, have a *right* to return one or more Members to Parliament, in exclusion of a thousand or more of others, inhabiting the same Borough, *tho'* they claim this *right* under the Sanction of a CHARTER coeval with the *Constitution* itself, and forming a component Part of it.

In the other Case, the other Petitioners say, that *they* having bought and paid for their Coals, which they cannot exist without, derive no Advantage from them, but *heat*. Whereas his Grace of Richmond, is enabled besides heat, to obtain for *his* Family and *self* all the comforts and blessings, nay even the *Luxuries* of Life. By what right is he entitled to these extraordinary benefits, in preference to his Fellow-Subjects?

---Why by Charter.---Is one Charter in the
Eye

Eye of the Law, more inviolable than another? Or, can it be alledged, that because his Ancestor was a Bastard, and therefore disabled by Law, of claiming otherwise, than by particular Gift, as being "*Nullius filius*" that therefore *he*, and *his Heirs*, shall be more firmly maintained in their rights by CHARTER, than those who are entitled under a *familiar Claim*, only handed down by a *clear, undefiled*, and legitimate Stream of Inheritance?

I am convinced, my Lord, that a more equal *Representation*, obtained by the disfranchisement of CHARTERS, and breaking down the Barriers of our old-fashioned Constitution, must lead to a more equal *Participation* of property in the End. Of course, my Lord, it must turn out advantageous to the Interests of my Brat. For what can entitle the Dukes of Devonshire and Bedford, to Estates from which they derive respectively, from fifty to one hundred thousand a Year each, when so many thousands are absolutely starving for want of bread? Nothing but the Law of the Land; and CHARTERS being the strongest Part of that Law, *they* once broke

broke in upon--we can easily take further steps in the same path: And after by degrees lopping and topping alternately from the Crown, and the Nobility, the *People* will of course become more equally representative of each other---which must turn out ultimately for my COUNTRY's GOOD.

In the mean time, my Lord, it behoves you to be particularly cautious, as to what steps you take in burthening the People too severely, after you have just eased them of such a *Load*, as the thirteen Colonies. It will be necessary to be prepared at all Points, and as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, is the efficient Pilot, who is to guide us thro' the Rocks, and Quicksands of *Finance*, in such a manner as to prevent our State-Vessel from thumping too hard either against *Opposition* Shoals, or *Reformation* Mud-banks: Your Choice of a Person to fill this hazardous and important Station is abundantly momentous.

I have no violent objection to the present Chancellor; I believe he is possessed of the most extensive Abilities. His public and private

private Character are no doubt objects worthy of imitation. He is a branch from the stem which has once saved this Country from impending ruin. It is allowed on all hands, that instead of wasting his Hours of recess from business, in the fashionable Amusements of Cards, Dice, Pharo, Hazard, &c. he is studiously treasuring up a store of Knowledge, which even his *quondam Friends* cannot deny may, in *time*, be of Service to his Country---but at present, my Lord, *indeed* he is too YOUNG.*

Let me advise your Lordship to give him, for the present, a better place, more suited to his *youthful* Genius. As for a Successor, your Lordship need not be long at a loss, while the Secretary of a certain Secretary is living. No Man can, by nature or practice, be more happy in the Science of Ways and Means. Facts speak for themselves: And all the Nation can witness, that for several Years he has lived in a state of Splendor and Voluptuousness, vying with the Nobility; on the Rents of a very extensive Estate, which he owns in the adjacent Kingdom of Utopia, without

* See Defence of Lord S——, p. 69, 70.

without once being obliged to harrafs his Tenants by Ejectments, or Chancery Suits, or ever promising them a renewal of their old Leases, at the old Rents, and then breaking his Word---tho' all his Tenants have Names as hard, uncouth, and unintelligible as the Mlaghling O' Muynighanem-Philimy Mac-cullacotho---Moroogha Mac Lughullagha's, in the County of Kerry.* He has also been First Lord of a *Treasury*, and is said to be particularly well skilled in the Management of a *Sinking Fund*.

Your Lordship may, perhaps, think me too presumptuous for thus obtruding my Advice on every particular point of policy, which may require your Observation; and indeed, when I consider your vast extent of Abilities, I frequently tremble lest an honest zeal may lead me into inexcusable temerity. But, my Lord, you well know, that *Humanum est errare*, and if I do so on the present occasion, I flatter myself, I shall meet with forgiveness; as I have *voluntarily* stepped forth in support of the Rights of an Orphan, who has long been suing in *FORMA PAUPERIS*,
without

* See Defence of Lord S——E, p. 36.

without being able to obtain either Redress
or Attention.

Had any other of our most gracious Sovereign's Subjects, whether ennobled or only simple Commoners; at present filled the elevated Station from which your Lordship looks down on such a private and humble line as that in which I move, I should not be surprized at their exclaiming against me, as being unreasonable in my requests, and far too diffuse in my Ideas of the power of the first Lord of the Treasury. But, my Lord, you have no right to find fault with me on that score; as it stands recorded of you and has never yet been denied since that record has been produced: that such has been the Success of your Lordship's Ministerial Finesse, such the fascinating Art of which you are possessed either by Inheritance or Inspiration; that if I was to let slip the present Moment of endeavouring to secure the Interests of my Orphan on a permanent and *broad basis*, I should think I deserved to be branded with the disgraceful Accusation, of having betrayed the Trust, which I voluntarily took upon me to execute.

Your

Your Lordship's Defender, has boldly pledged himself, that "the illustrious and Reverend Body, among whom you have the Honor to sit, will be sure to give you its Sanction, if you should make war upon the Moon." "That you have your Brother Peers in your *Pocket*, and the King in your *Hand*." Now, my Lord, only reflect for a Moment on the Magnitude of your *Possessions*, and the Extensiveness of your *Power*; and I think, your Lordship must acquit me of being unreasonable in my desire of rectifying all Abuses, in a Moment so favourable as the present, which, if now suffered to pass by, may probably never return.

Twelve short months have not yet elapsed, since, LORD NORTH, was thought to be firmly seated on the Bench, over which your Lordship now presides. He was turned out, to use the language of your Defender, by the "*Foxites*"---and the consequence was, "your Lordship became a *Minister*." *Gardez vous bien*, my Lord, what has once happened may come to pass again. The Men who gave you one "*Scene*," may, perhaps, at this very moment, be sedulously employ-

ed in the endeavour to get you the Honor of another; and as your "*Ottoman* virtue, cannot bear a Brother near the Throne," your immaculate and ingenious *Rival* may possibly do you the favor to place you where even a *Brother* will not wish to trouble you.

The respectable Corps of Members in the House of Commons, ranked under the Description of the landed Interest, those honest jogtrot Senators who have nothing to do with *rotten Boroughs*, but who, under the sacred Sanction of being Representatives for Counties, have a complete and unobjectionable Claim to the Privilege of their Royal Master, viz. "*that they can do no wrong*," have once already (to use a Sportsman's phrase) been fairly thrown out. --- They have evinced that their *Hearts* were better than their *Heads*: and fondly imagined, because *they* thought it wrong to tell a Lye, every one else must of necessity do so too.

It is enough to move the gelastic Muscles even of him, whom the Poet describes as disdaining to smile, to think that so many truly *honest* Men and sapient Legislators, in-

tent on nothing but the good of the Nation, should, in the midst of a violent Storm, turn their Pilot from the Helm of the State-Vessel, which he had guided for so many Years, upon the mere Assertion of one of the Ship's Company, That he had a crucible of Oil in his pocket which would immediately calm the fury of the enraged and turbulent Sea.

Credat Judeus! would some time since have been an excellent Reply to such a Supposition: but Facts speak for themselves so strongly, and are built on so *broad a basis*, that there is no possibility of doing them away. I remember particularly asking a County Member, to whom I had given a Vote, and procured for him a few more, what could possibly induce him to divide as he did on that particular question? Upon my Sagacity---said he, my good Friend, I should not have done so, but Charles Fox declared with as great Confidence as I would that two and two make four, that he had a *Peace in his Pocket*. This was to me a sufficient excuse; the Country Gentlemen being most of them Justices of *Peace*, ought to be *peaceably* inclined of course: it is a *Chris-*

tian Doctrine; and I will once more give my worthy Friend my Interest: tho' I humbly conceive, my Lord, that it may not be amiss for the common Good of the Nation, (if there is no law of parliament to that effect already) to bring in a Bill, empowering the Speaker, in case of any such avowal in future, to issue his Search-Warrant, and to inflict a heavy Penalty on that Member who shall be thereupon proved a Liar, a Cheat, and an Impostor.

As you, my Lord, we are told, are naturally given to a "*Turkish*" Opinion, I am by no means surprized that you did not chuse to have too intimate a Connection with Mr. Fox. A Man who can so easily *lye* himself into Office, will as easily *lye* himself out of it: and so alternately, till he renders all who are connected with him as infamous as himself. He and his Colleagues boast of having given your Lordship a Scene: That is better known to you, than to me, my Lord; but while you are to be looked upon as the *principal* figure in the scene, let me advise your Lordship to keep that Gentleman in the back Ground. He may answer a particular

cular purpose, now and then, which may be serviceable to your Lordship, *pro tempore*, but his friendship and support will never reflect Honor on the Minister of England till he becomes a *new Man*.

It is a peculiar Privilege, and no small Blessing, incident to the Constitution of this Country, that every Subject has a right, not only to form his Opinion of *Men* and *Measures*; but also to promulgate whatever to him may appear as deserving of praise or censure, in either, or in both.

On this Ground it is, that I take the trouble to mention my Sentiments on the Character of Mr. Fox. The Author of your Lordship's Defence has drawn that Gentleman in such flattering Colours, that had not his Name been printed at full length, I could no more have supposed the picture was intended for him, than for the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Lord Advocate of Scotland.

* That "Mr. Fox has a respect for the Judgment of the Nation," I think no one

* See the Defence of Lord S——, p. 11.

will be hardy enough to deny; nor that "he looks to the *purity* of his Actions for public Applause." The Man who in 1769 was the most strenuous Supporter of the gallant Lutterell, in the never to be forgotten Election for Middlesex. He who denied that the People had any Voice out of the Walls of St. Stephen's. He who scouted the Idea of the Peoples Right to petition for a Dissolution of Parliament, or a dismissal of Ministers, when an attempt was made to rob the Electors of Middlesex of their dearest Rights, and thro' them establish a precedent for doing the same by every County in the Kingdom, must certainly have the most *inviolable* Respect for the "Judgment of the Nation."

The Author of the Pamphlet so often alluded to, has taken much Pains to cull a string of Arguments in support of Mr. Fox, which are founded on *self-evident* principles, and therefore to deny them would argue a degree of folly, which I hope I shall be able to avoid.

That "Mr. Fox is *careless*, where your Lordship is *cautious*," I will not hesitate to admit.

admit. For I dare say, had *you*, my Lord, been desirous to solace and relax your Care tired Thoughts, during the late Summer's Recess from business, in the Contemplation and Enjoyment of prostituted beauty---you would have been so *cautious*, that, tho' the object of your desires might have vied with the Paphian Queen, you would scarcely have suffered her to whisk you thro' the Streets of the Capital, or Hyde-Park, in her Phaeton, whether drawn by *Doves* or *Ponies*.*

The "*careless*" Mr. Fox, who has such a Respect for the "*Judgment of the Nation*," despises such *cautious* Conduct. As "*§ he*" "*will fit with the Man he values upon the*" "*simplest fare*"---'tis by no means wonderful that he should ride with a fine Woman. Tho' he could not boast that he had the "*Feast of a King*," every one must allow he had the Leavings of a *Prince*: And as he had just before taken his departure from the Garden of Eden, who can be surprized that he should court the Society of a fallen Angel.

That

* During the Summer Recess Mr. Fox frequently took an Airing with Mrs. R——n, in her Phaeton.

§ See Defence of Lord S——, 2^d pt. 2. to which see 2^d 1

That “ || Mr. Fox thinks himself right,” and virulently reprobates those he thinks wrong: his Speeches in the Senate will uniformly prove from the first to the last which he ever made.

That “ || he is no Apostate,” is equally clear. I hate Assertions without some small share of Proof; and as his faithful Historian has forgot that insignificant circumstance in his portrait, I will endeavour to supply so small a deficiency.

In 1769, as I have before observed, Mr. Fox was the strenuous and firm supporter of the Minister. Of Lord North. He totally denied any Right of the People to a *Voice* out of the Walls of St. Stephen's---or that their Petitions were worthy of Notice, which desired a dismissal of Ministry, or a Dissolution of Parliament. This was the period of time, in which the *Constitution* was in the most imminent Danger; but in the Opinion of Mr. Fox, the Petitions and Remonstrances of the *People* were not deserving Notice or Regard.

|| See Defence of Lord S.—, p. 12 and 13,

In

In 1780-81, this very same Mr. Charles Fox, is the most violent Supporter of the Rights of the *same People*, to petition, remonstrate, form Committees, and take every Step, to which he had formerly denied they were entitled;---to remove the very same Ministry, whose Bull-Dog he had primarily been. To use the Language of your Lordship's Vindicator, whenever in the Contest about the Middlesex Election, the Minister wanted to "*badger*" an obnoxious or virulent Member of Opposition, he had only to unmuzzle his Fox, and his Fi so fum carried all before it.

Can any one dare to alledge, that such a Man is an "*Apostate*?" " * Or that from the day he burst the Bandage of his political Childhood to this hour, he has not pursued one *invariable* line without the smallest deviation?" As well may he attempt to say, that General Howe did not quell the Rebellion in America, or that Admiral Graves did not *handsomely drub* the French Fleet in the Chesapeake.

" The

* See the Defence of Lord S——, p. 14.

“ * The Sympathy, which kindred Qualities naturally excite, attaches Mr. Fox to Men of Letters,” ---Self-evident still---witness the Secretary he chose unto himself. Could any thing be more congenial than the feelings of those two *moral* Characters. View them in their several different departments, as mere Men, Heads of Families, Secretaries, Senators, &c. you will find they seldom or ever vary in their courses. Both led the same *regular, sober* life. Each of them *equally* refrained from the fashionable Follies of Cards, Dice, Pharo, E. O. and other brilliant Absurdities. Both kept the same *early* Hours, and *equally* were they interested in the good of the Nation which they were for a time, partly entrusted to govern. Merit is not always successful. *Non omnia possumus omnes* ---and it is certainly to be lamented that the Patronage of the one was not more beneficial to the other.

To take a summary View then of this Gentleman's Character and Principles since the Commencement of this political Career, we find that on his first outset, he was the
staunch

* See the Defence of Lord S——, p. 15.

staunch Supporter and Advocate of the *then* Ministry, I am here naturally led into a kind of deviation from the principal Object, in order to make a slight Observation on the Imbecility of human Nature.

The Author of your Lordship's defence has taken occasion to tack to it a Postscript, addressed to the Earl of STAIR. -- What is a Comet without its fiery Tail? -- The Answer is obvious. -- Nothing. -- As I know nothing at all of either the Earl of Stair, or his several Pamphlets, his various Calculations, &c. would have passed unnoticed by me, and the Postscript alluded to also. But, my Lord, there is one Passage in it which so clearly elucidates the Truth of the Author's Eulogiums on Mr. Fox's immaculate and undeviating political Conduct, that in *Justice*, I cannot omit paying him a small tribute of thanks for throwing so striking a Light on the strength of his Assertions.

Says the Writer of the Postscript to the Earl of Stair, in page 92, "You said (for some strange purpose) that the greatest Era of England's felicity, was from 1763 to

“ to 1775, and that imagination can scarcely
 “ surpass it” My Lord, “ I affirm, that this
 “ Country, since the Massacres of the last
 “ Century, never felt so much domestic dis-
 “ tress and foreign disgrace, as in these very
 “ ten Years. Do you forget, my Lord, that it
 “ was in this very Interval, the Constitution
 “ was stabbed in the Affair of the Middlesex
 “ Election---that the despotic Attempt was
 “ made to cut up Liberty by the Roots, by
 “ General Warrants---that the greatest and
 “ wisest Men in this Country affirmed open-
 “ ly in both Houses of Parliament, that the
 “ People’s Representatives were *Traitors*, and
 “ sold the Rights of the Nation.”

I presume it will not be uncandid to in-
 fer, that the open Affirmations of those *great*
 and *wise* Men, in both Houses, were confin-
 ed to such of the Peoples Representatives
only, as supported the Measures of the then
 Administration! And if so, it may not be
 amiss to enquire *who* formed a part of this
 band of *Traitors*. Surely the Writer of the
 Postscript must have forgot what he had said
 of his darling Mr. Fox, in his Letter to Sir
 George Saville.---Wits, my Lord, are al-
 lowed

lowed to have short Memories---but as I have no pretensions to the Character---I cannot obliterate from my Remembrance, that Mr. Fox, the *honest undeviating* plain speaking Mr. Fox, was the AJAX of the Ministerial Phalanx, in the very Period, when the "Constitution was *stabbed*," and "*Liberty* attempted to be cut up by the Roots," ---and of course one of those Representatives, whom the "greatest and wisest Men in this Country branded with the Name of TRAITORS."

Soon after this Period of Constitutional Calamity, Mr. Fox grew tired of stabbing the Constitution piece-meal, and deserted from those petty Parricides to plunge himself into a tumultuous Stream of Faction, whose accumulating Strength has gone nigh to overturn the Constitution entirely. The last ten Years of his Life have been employed in an uniform Opposition to every Measure of his quondam Associates, no matter how beneficial for the good of the State. The Man of the Minister, has assumed to himself the triumphant Title of, *The Man of the People*; and after climbing upon the Shoulders of
popular

popular Favor to the high and important Station of *Minister*---he concludes his grand Career, by loading his Country with a Measure of Disgrace, which it had never known before. His Letter to Mr. De Simolin---that fawning, cringing, begging Badge of England's fallen Glory, written for no other purpose, than to throw an Odium on the Measures of his Predecessors in Office, will ever remain an indelible Blot and Stain on the Honor and Magnanimity of the Nation. The Contempt it was treated with, by the surly and treacherous Republicans, to whom it was addressed, was a galling Reflection to every true Lover of his Country,---and with the Addition of his Scheme of *unconditional* Independence, and the melancholy desponding Picture which he drew of the State of our Navy, with which we have since frustrated all the Attempts of our combined Enemies; form a Chain of incontestible Evidence, that "from the Day he burst the Bandage of his political Childhood, to the present Hour, he has pursued one invariable Line, without the smallest deviation." He has uniformly proved himself the greatest Enemy to this Nation which it was ever
curfed

curled with, and had not his Ambition been thwarted, in so tender a Point, as the Appointment of your Lordship to your present elevated Station, I fear we should now have great Reason to cry out---

“When will the Measure of our Woes be full.”

As that ingenious and elegant Satirist, SALUST, has been referred to, for a Portrait of your Lordship; I shall take the liberty to conclude my opinion of Mr. Fox, by a Likeness as striking as if he had sat for it; drawn by that incomparable Artist for a Man equally as great and good as a Citizen of the Roman Empire, as Mr. Fox is of the English. To your Lordship I am sure it would be needless to mention who I mean by Name; but as you have had the Honor to be compared to Sylla: I would not affront Mr. Fox so highly, as to deny that the Portrait of Catiline, as drawn by Salust, is equally applicable to him, as Sylla to your Lordship. Take the Painter's Words, and deny them if you can, my Lord,

“*Sui profusus, alieni appetens, rerum simulator et dissimulator.*”

Weak

Weak minded Politicians, my Lord, may possibly suppose from the foregoing pages, that I mean to be your Lordship's panegyrist. Those who do so, will be materially mistaken. I have avowed the principle on which I write, and I now declare no other motive could impel me to take so much trouble as I have done, on the present Occasion. However it may not be foreign to my purpose, nay I believe it will not, to give your Lordship a Hint or two, which, perhaps, you will think not entirely unworthy your Notice.

You have been censured, my Lord, for an Aptitude to change your Opinion. It is alleged against you as a capital defect in your Character as a Minister. Bold assertions have had great Weight with numbers of Men, who, without intending the smallest degree of derogation from *your* dignity, were as earnest for their Country's Good as you or I can pretend to be: and by listening to them, they have found themselves *deceived* and *betrayed*.

The Duke de Sully, who was *perhaps* the greatest Man that ever existed, has been quoted as an object of reproach to your Lordship, in the Character of a Landlord: and the very mention of his Name calls to my Recollection a Circumstance as to *change of Opinion*, which will be no mean precedent for either your Lordship, or any Man who shall hereafter fill your present important Station, not to adhere too rigidly to any particular political Axiom.

After repeatedly risking his Life, in Company with his illustrious Master, Henry the IVth. surnamed the Great, of France, in Defence of the Protestant Religion, with only a handful of Men, opposed to an amazing Host of Poes acting against them, under the Banners of the League. After conquering almost every Difficulty. After obtaining for the Protestants the Edict of Nantz---the Magna Charta of their religious Liberties---this same great and good Man was the first and strongest Advocate to persuade his Royal Master to give up his Opinion, in point of Religion, rather than lon-

ger deluge his unfortunate Kingdoms with Blood and Slaughter.

I mention this, my Lord, merely to shew that you are not the first Man, in an eminent Station, who has changed his Opinion, even on a most favorite Point. But whether your Lordship's pliability, in this Respect, may be for the good or ill of this unfortunate Kingdom, I shall leave to time to determine,

During the time that our gracious Sovereign shall think proper to continue you in the Office which you now fill, it shall always be my pride to give you every degree of Support, which the Scale of my Abilities will allow, while my Reason informs me you are actuated by a Zeal for the Interest, Welfare, and Glory of the Nation. But the Moment your Lordship deviates from that grand Object; from the same Instant I shall declare open War against you: And however you may hope to shield yourself under the Rays of Royalty---I have no doubt but that the Voice of the *People*, when timely
and

and *properly* exerted, will be a sufficient Check on every power which *you*, my Lord, can plume yourself on, whether confined to your *Pocket* or your *Hand*---or whether your Lordship should chuse to wage War with the *Moon*, or with the *Antipodes*.

I could now launch into a very wide field of Disquisition, but the present critical State of our Affairs, foreign and domestic---force me for the Moment, to postpone any further interference on the Subject.

If your Lordship, and your Colleagues, make a good and *honourable* Peace for this Country, you will have the unanimous Blessing of the whole Nation.---If on the contrary, you patch up an ignominious Treaty ---if to keep your places, you barter away the Interests and dearest Privileges of a great and powerful Kingdom---I most devoutly hope and pray that your Lordship, and every one concerned in the Transaction, may be eternally despised and detested, as those deserve who betray the Rights of their Country.

F I N I S.